



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

The
American Historical Review

A NEW FRAGMENT ON LUTHER'S DEATH, WITH
OTHER GLEANINGS FROM THE AGE OF
THE REFORMATION¹

WE Americans are wont to think of the materials for the first-hand study of Old-World history as to be found only on the far side of the Atlantic. So indeed in the main they are, and so they may well remain. Yet there exists among us at least one source of gleaning which is too much overlooked. I mean the manuscript jottings on the fly-leaves and margins of our old books. May I undertake from the shelves of a single university library to illustrate their worth even to the student of the age of the Reformation?

When, a few months ago, I read with deep interest of the discovery, in an old book of the library of the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, of an unprinted and hitherto unknown account of the death of Martin Luther, and of its recognition by the highest authorities as the work of a contemporary and an eye-witness, Hans Albrecht, the town clerk of Eisleben, in whose house Luther died,² I was quickened to a fresh interest in these manu-

¹ The greater part of this paper was read before the American Society of Church History at its meeting in New York, December 30, 1910.

² A full account of this discovery, with a facsimile of the manuscript, is given by Professor Spaeth, its finder (alas, since June, 1910, no longer living), in last year's April issue of *The Lutheran Church Review* (Philadelphia). An article upon it had already been published by an eminent German student of the Reformation, Professor Wilhelm Walther, in the *Allgemeine Lutherische Kirchenzeitung* of February 18, 1910, and his conclusions had been confirmed by such fellow-authorities upon Luther as Professors Buchwald and Kawerau. The manuscript, more than two folio pages in length, is written upon the final fly-leaf and the back cover of an old volume of Luther's *Sommerpostille* (Wittenberg, 1544), and narrates both the death of the Reformer and the funeral ceremonies at Eisleben. That it is Hans Albrecht's autograph has not yet been established, though the legal hand lends probability to that assumption. My inquiries regarding it found Professor Spaeth no longer living, and I am indebted to the courtesy of his colleague and fellow-historian Professor Jacobs for a copy of the facsimile. He

script memoranda; but I little dreamed that so soon I could report a trifle of new evidence on precisely the same much-debated episode.

Glancing the other day over a shelf of old Bibles in the Cornell University Library, my eye lighted on a bulky folio which had hitherto escaped my notice. Drawing it out I found it a copy of Luther's German version and printed at Wittenberg by Hans Lufft in 1546, the year of the translator's death.³ Its library marks showed me that it was one of those bought in 1895 by our department of German for its study of the growth of the German language; and, as these were long retained in its private keeping, I understood why the volume now first met my eye. It was an ancient tome, still in the stamped hogskin of the sixteenth century, with one clasp yet performing its office. It had clearly seen hard usage. The title-page was missing—though carefully supplied in manuscript by some modern hand—and many of the leaves were patched or mounted. Moreover, all had evidently suffered from the binder's knife, and that before it gained its present binding; for the marginal annotations which abounded, all in sixteenth-century script, showed mutilation at top and bottom and fore-edge alike.

It was these annotations which caught my interest, and that which first tempted my study gave me at once a date. It was on the leaf following the title-page, where thrones the portrait of John Frederick of Saxony in full electoral regalia, that I read the words, dim but legible, at the right of the Elector's face:

"Ich hoff, O Herr von Sachsen,
Der Rautte-Krantz wird wider wachsen.
1548."

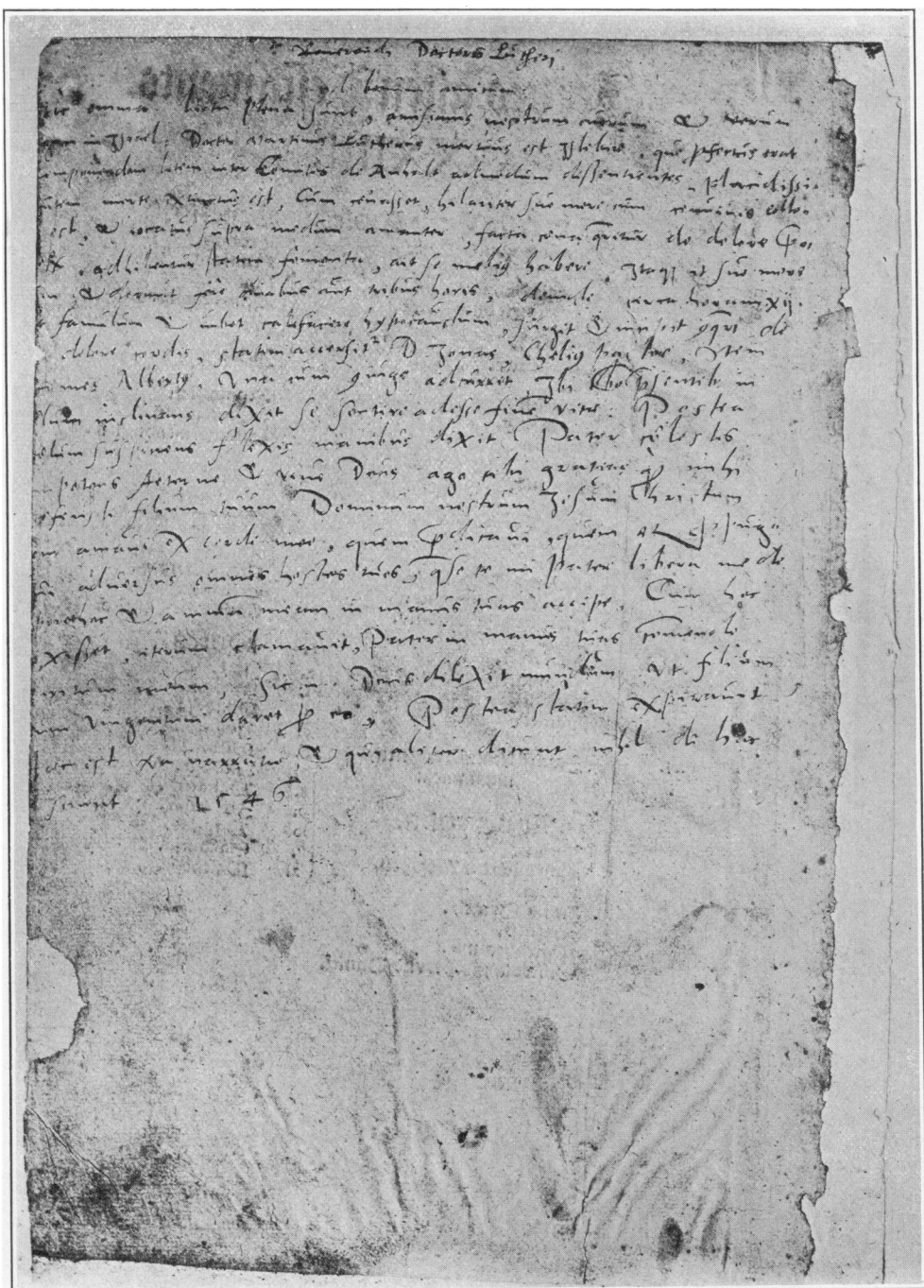
Or, in English rhyme as rude as the German,

"I hope, O Lord of Saxony,
The wreath of rue will grow again for thee.
1548."

The last figure of the date was questionable; but the wish could have been uttered only after the rout of Mühlberg, in 1547, had cost the Elector his liberty and his "wreath of rue"—ornament of the Saxon arms and emblem of the Saxon land. I turned two or three pages to another picture—that of the Creation, facing the beginning of the book of Genesis—and beneath I read these words, written by

informs me that another account of the manuscript by Professor Spaeth, with illustrative facsimiles, will be published (of course in German) in Professor Buchwald's *Luther-Kalender* for 1911.

³ A description of this edition may be found at p. 689 of *Die Deutsche Bibel* (in the Weimar edition of Luther's works), where this copy is duly registered as at "Ithaca, Neu York".



A letter on Luther's death. From a blank page of a Wittenberg Bible of 1546 in the library of Cornell University.

the same hand: "Philippus Melanthon pflegt zu sagen: Genesin soll ein Prediger all monat ein mal auss lesen"—"Philip Melanchthon is wont to say that Genesis a preacher should read through once every month." "Is wont to say": our annotator, then, was his familiar, perhaps his pupil. These notes were worth a careful study; and I turned back to begin it. Yet only a single leaf: for on the blank page immediately preceding—the reverse of that enumerating the books of the Old Testament—my eye fell on a half-page and more of the same old handwriting, this time in Latin. Its top line had been cut away by the binder, leaving only the lower tips of two or three letters; and at the fore-edge the first three or four letters of each line had similarly been sacrificed. But what was left of the opening letter of the top line seemed to show it a capital E; and the letters lost at the fore-edge were suggested more or less clearly by their context. Boldly supplying therefore what is gone (but putting in brackets all my additions), I transcribe what I found:

[Epistola cujusdam de obitu]
Reverendi Doctoris Lutheri
ad bonum amicum.

Hic omnia luctu plena sunt. Amisimus nostrum currum et verum
[auri]gam in Israel: Doctor Martinus Lutherus mortuus est Islebiae,
quo profectus erat
[ad c]omponendum litem inter Comites de Anhalt admodum dissentien-
tes. Placidissi-
[me a]utem morte extinctus est. Cum coenasset, hilariter suo more cum
convivis collo-
[cutus] est, et iocatus supra modum amanter. Facta coena queritur de
dolore praeri-
[gor]osum. Adhibentur statim fomenta. Ait se melius habere. Itaque
it suo more
[cubit]um, et dormiit fere duabus aut tribus horis, deinde circa horam
xii.
[voca]t famulum et jubet calefacere hypocaustum. Surgit et incipit
conqueri de
[acri] dolore cordis. Statim accersitur D. Jonas, Chelius pastor; item
[mox] comes Albertus una cum conjuge adcurrit. Ibi omnibus praesen-
tibus in
[lect]ulum inclinans dixit se sentire adesse finem vitae. Postea
[in c]oelum suspiciens flexis manibus dixit Pater coelestis,
[om]nipotens, aeternae et vive Deus, ago tibi gratias quod mihi
[pat]efecisti filium tuum, Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum,
[qu]em amavi ex corde meo, quem praedicavi, quem aliter [?] propug-
[na]vi adversus omnes hostes tuos. Quaeso te, mi pater, libera me de
[cor]pore hoc et animam meam in manus tuas accipe. Cum hoc
[d]ixisset, iterum clamavit, Pater in manus tuas commendo
[s]piritum meum. Sic enim Deus dilexit mundum ut filium
[su]um unigenitum daret pro eo. Postea statim expiravit.

Haec est vera narratio, et qui aliter dicunt nihil de hac [re] sciunt. 1546.⁴

Or, in English:

[Letter of ——— regarding the death]
of the Reverend Doctor Luther
to a good friend.

Everything here is full of grief. We have lost our chariot and true charioteer in Israel: Doctor Martin Luther has died at Eisleben, whither he had gone to settle a dispute between the Counts of Anhalt, who were somewhat at variance. Most peacefully, however, did he meet death. While at supper he conversed gaily, as usual, with his table companions, and jested with exceptional amiability. After supper he complained of very severe pain. Poultices were at once applied, and he said that he felt better. So he went to bed as usual, and slept some two or three hours, then about twelve o'clock called the janitor and bade him heat the sitting-room. He got up and began to complain of a sharp pain in the heart. Immediately Dr. Jonas was summoned, and Pastor Coelius; and soon Count Albert came running in, together with his wife. There, in the presence of all, lying on the couch, he said that he felt the end of his life to have come. Afterward, looking up into heaven, with folded hands, he said: "Heavenly Father, omnipotent, eternal and living God, I thank thee that thou hast manifested unto me thy son, our Lord Jesus Christ, whom I have loved from my heart, whom I have preached, whom in other wise I have championed against all thy foes. I beseech thee, my father, liberate me from this body, and into thy hands accept my soul." When he had thus spoken, he again cried out, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit. For God so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten son for its sake." Thereupon he forthwith gave up the ghost.

This is a true account, and whoever say otherwise know nothing about this matter.

Now it is evident that what we have here is not, like the precious narrative found by Professor Spaeth, the account of an eye-witness. The writer speaks of Luther not as having "come", but as having "gone", to Eisleben; and the phrase which he uses ("profectus erat") suggests that he writes from the place whence Luther set out—from Wittenberg. It was, of course, especially at Wittenberg that

⁴ See the facsimile presented herewith. I have of course interpreted the abbreviations and taken the usual liberties with punctuation and capitals. The bracketed words are only guesses; but, with the exception of the top line, I trust they are correct. In the top line, however, what I have taken for the bottom of an initial E may belong instead to a capital L; and that the word can be *Epistola* seems almost forbidden by the presence, at about the place where the bottoms of its sixth and seventh letters should be, of two tips which look most like those of our annotator's double "s", though the first may belong to a "p" or a "q", and the second to an "f" or a single "s". These three are the only remnants of the top line left by the binder, certain other marks which at first sight seem such being, I think, only splatterings of the green dye applied by him to the edges of the volume after trimming. If what I have thought the bottom of its first letter is really so, the top line begins some three letters farther to the left than the line below it.

everything was full of grief at his death. But there is another phrase yet richer in suggestion. To the student of the occurrences at Luther's death those words about "the chariot of Israel" have a strangely familiar sound. They are of course a borrowing of the exclamation of Elisha at the fiery exit of his master Elijah;⁵ but it is not our letter alone which borrows them. When, on the morning of February 19, twenty-four hours after Luther's death, the sad news was brought to Wittenberg by the letter which Dr. Jonas had at once addressed to his colleagues there and by that which, addressed by him to the Elector at Torgau, had forthwith been forwarded by that prince, it was Philip Melanchthon who was charged with the duty of announcing it to the students and their world. At his nine o'clock lecture on the Epistle to the Romans he laid before them the crushing message, and as he finished the account he exclaimed: "Ach, obiit auriga et currus Israel."⁶ The phrase was still in his mind when, a little later that day, in the name of the university, he answered the letter of Jonas; and he wrote: "Erat ille omnino currus et auriga Israel."⁷ Nor did his students forget the striking expression. Three days later the Nuremberger Hieronymus Besold, writing to Veit Dietrich of these events, quoted Melanchthon as declaring to the students that Luther was "truly the chariot and charioteer of Israel" (vere currus et auriga Israelis);⁸ and the Carlstadter Adam Lindemann, after the lapse of a fortnight, still recalls (in a letter to his uncle, Johann Drach) how "Philip, when he announced to us Luther's departure, exclaimed: 'Ah, periit currus et auriga Israel.'"⁹

Now, it is of course possible that the writer of our letter might independently have borrowed Elisha's apostrophe, though the only man likely to borrow it, the only man whom we know to have borrowed it, was the one man who without immodesty could feel himself to stand toward Luther in the relation of Elisha to Elijah—Luther's younger coadjutor and natural successor, Philip Melanchthon. But, whoever else should borrow it, no Lutheran—and a Lutheran our letter-writer clearly is—was likely independently to borrow it in this form. "Currus Israel et auriga ejus" was indeed the reading of the Latin Vulgate and familiar to all brought up in the older church; but the critical scholarship of the sixteenth century had early substituted *equites* for *auriga*; and, as our current English versions read, not "charioteer", but "horsemen", so from the first had Martin Luther's. Even in his autograph manuscript, of 1523,

⁵ II Kings ii. 12.

⁶ *Corpus Reformatorum*, VI. 58, 59.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁸ Kawerau, *Der Briefwechsel des Justus Jonas*, II. 183.

⁹ *Beiträge zur Bayerischen Kirchengeschichte*, hrsg. v. Kolde, III. 274.

"*furman*" (*fuhrmann*) is stricken out and "*reutter*" (*reiter*) written above it.¹⁰ This correction resulted at first in an odd confusion, for in the earliest complete edition of his Bible (1534) one reads of the "*Furman Israel und sein Reuter*"—the "charioteer of Israel and the horsemen thereof"; but this was speedily corrected to the "*Wagen Israel und sein Reiter*", the reading of Lutheran Bibles to this day. Surely nobody at Wittenberg but Philip Melanchthon or one who caught the phrase from him would have been so bold as to use the discredited Vulgate wording.

But the writer of our letter makes the chariot and charioteer not those *of* Israel, but those *in* Israel; and, unless this be a blunder of the transcriber, the misquotation may well seem to preclude Melanchthon's own authorship of it. Yet this would be hardly a greater liberty with the phrase than he took when, in his address to the students, he added to it the words "who ruled the church in this last age of the world" or when in his letter to Jonas he added "stirred up by God to establish and purify the ministry of the Gospel". If not Melanchthon, who but one of his students could have written it?

That it was written on the very day of the receipt of the news is made probable—if the document be complete—by its brevity and by its silence as to the subsequent happenings. But we have no assurance that this transcript *is* complete; the abridged form of the date is one often found in an extract. Yet there is another reason, mentioned by the letter itself, why it is likely to have been promptly written. Melanchthon himself explained to his students that his grief could hardly have permitted him to make the announcement, had not others (was it the Elector perhaps who had been thus urgent?) insisted that without delay the true story of Luther's death should be laid before them, lest false reports might be spread abroad by them or gain a hearing among them. There was reason enough for the fear. Never since Lactantius gloried in the dying agonies of the persecutors had Christians been more eager to find in the death of a religious foe some token of the vengeance of Heaven. Luther himself, alas, had been only too ready to credit and spread such slanders; and his friends knew well how many enemies were expectantly awaiting the moment when they could trumpet abroad how death had brought to shame the arch-heretic himself. It is to the credit of his vigilant friends as well as to the honor of his opponents that the charges then set afloat proved on the whole so trifling. That long before a century was gone there nevertheless found currency a legend of his suicide needs no telling in the days of Majunke and Honef and Kleis; and, though the generous Catholic scholarship

¹⁰ See *Die Deutsche Bibel* (in the Weimar edition of his works), I. 199.

of a Nicolaus Paulus has found in the silence or the positive testimony of hostile contemporaries a refutation more convincing than could be furnished by the evidence of interested friends, it was the prompt energy of his friends which so long stifled or challenged the voice of slander. Yet it has puzzled me that, with all their promptness in appealing to the students not to believe or to spread a false report, there was no request for their aid in diffusing a true one. Despite this silence it could not be strange if a student felt impelled to write such a letter as ours; but is it not quite as possible that what we have here is rather a circular letter, drawn up (like so many others known to us in this age) to be sent out to more addresses than one?¹¹

But how in that case—how in any case—can this letter so long have evaded the notice of historians? I am by no means sure that it has evaded it. I can only say that I cannot find it in print. A few years ago (1907) so careful a student as Professor Kawerau, publishing in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* two more letters regarding the death of Luther as a supplement to the five he had already published there in 1881, appended a list of all the letters and accounts by contemporaries which had thus far found their way into print. Our own does not appear among them. That it should have escaped discovery is the more strange because the volume in which now I find it had earlier its home in a centre of Lutheran scholarship: the same hand which has reproduced the lost title-page has transcribed also, at the base of it, the name of an owner—the “Collegium Wengense” at Ulm. Could anything really of value to the history of the Reformation have escaped at Ulm the eyes of Veesenmeyer and of Keim? Yet one must remember that not three weeks had passed from Luther's death before there was in print that official account by the “three eye-witnesses” (Jonas, Coelius, and Auri-faber) which till the renewal of controversy in our own day has seemed to Protestants an all-sufficient source of knowledge.

And it must be confessed that for the details of Luther's end our little manuscript can have, at best, but slight historical value.¹² It

¹¹ Such a circular letter, or what seems such, the library of Cornell itself possesses—a contemporary manuscript copy (bought from the library of Knaake) of Luther's letter to the Elector Frederick, March 12, 1522, explaining his return from the Wartburg. Revised for the purpose at the Elector's wish, this letter is known to have been circulated widely.

¹² No serious addition to our knowledge of the circumstances of Luther's death is made, indeed, by the manuscript found at Mt. Airy. This adds much to what is told by the letter of Jonas, but practically nothing to the account of the three eye-witnesses. So closely, in truth, does it coincide with this latter, not only in the facts related and in their order but in the very words employed, that I cannot believe the two independent; but it is the three eye-witnesses who seem to me the

must rest, of course, on the tidings received at Wittenberg from Jonas; and, though his letter to his colleagues has since been lost, that to the Elector has been preserved and in its author's own original. Where our account differs from this it must be presumed to be at fault; and yet more surely so if it conflict with the combined memories of the three eye-witnesses. Yet as a contribution to our knowledge of the diffusion of the tidings, and as a suggestion of what may lie hidden in the scrawls on our old books, I have counted it worth reporting—and without even waiting to inquire whether Professor Nikolaus Müller has perhaps somewhere chanced on it in his gleaning of epistolary material for the great new supplement to the works of Melanchthon.

But whose was the hand that copied the letter into our old Bible? His marginal notes, though mainly but commentary, offer here and there a clue. He was a scholar and doubtless a theologian, for he writes not only German and Latin with equal ease, but now and then a passage of Greek or Hebrew. He was a Swabian, for opposite the mention of the fleece wet with dew (Judges vi. 37, 38) he has written in the margin "Die schwebischen Scheffer hayssen [s]olche Wolle ain Schepper", and opposite the simile of the children calling to their fellows "We have piped and ye have not danced" (Matthew xi. 16, 17) he tells us (if I may again guess at what the binder has cut away): "Unser kindlin [in] Schwaben singen [ei]n solch Liedlin: [E]s zannet ein [w]olff ins huttingen uff, man gab im [e]in brot, es thet [i]m nitt nott, [m]an gab im ain [gla]ss, es war im zu [spa]ss." He had been till January, 1545, at Wittenberg, and doubtless as a student; for he calls attention to the passage (John xii. 35, 36) which Dr. Luther wrote in his commonplace-book at his leaving there ("Disen sententz hat mir D. Luther in min buch geschriben anno 1545"—adding later, in a differing ink, "im jener da ich weg zoch von Witenberg") and likewise to the text (Philippians ii. 13) which Melanchthon penned for him at their leave-taking ("zur Letzte zu Witenberg Anno 45 da ich weg zoch im jener"). These annotations he had begun to make at least as early as 1548; for, where Luther in his preface to the book of Daniel asserts that Christians should pray even for tyrants, there is a marginal comment: "Nota bene contra illos qui non volunt orare pro Imperatori nostro Carolo Quinto"—to which, in a different ink, is added "qui etiam nunc papistis contra nos auxiliatur. 1548." But such refer-

borrowers—or, rather, the expanders. The resemblance between the two accounts of the death is the more striking because in the postscript of the Mt. Airy manuscript, which relates chiefly to the funeral exercises at Eisleben, there is no such resemblance to the narrative of the three eye-witnesses either in matter or in form.

ences to contemporary affairs are few. Where Zechariah prophesies the curse of the flying roll he comments, "Hie wirtt klarlich weisgesagt von dem schnöden Interims buch, so ans liecht kom[men] ist Anno 1548"; and where, in the first book of the Maccabees, it is related how Tryphon led the young king Antiochus deceitfully up and down the land until he could secretly slay him, he exclaims, "Also haben die falschen Engellender dem from[men] König Eduardo getha[n] Anno domini 1553. Der teuffel holl sie." But in the main he holds himself to exegesis, quoting often the words of Luther and Melanchthon, and sometimes (if "M. L. d." means "Martinus Lutherus dixit") from their oral teaching.

These, then, are the data. Who will guess the riddle? Many a young Swabian seems to have left Wittenberg in 1545—among them David Chytraeus, Johann Baptist Heinzel, Johann Marbach, Victorin Strigel—but whether any one of these in January I have not yet learned, and there is no reason to suppose our annotator a man of such moment.¹³

When last spring there was sold at Leipzig the rich Reformation collection of the Paris pastor, William Jackson, the library of Cornell was so fortunate as to secure a work long sought in vain—the rare original edition (1536) of the letters of Zwingli and Oecolampadius. The Jackson copy was not the less tempting because the catalogue described it as containing within the same old covers the Gospel commentary of Bucer (1530) and on the blank leaves between the two works two or three pages of manuscript in the autograph of Bucer himself. On the arrival of the volume it needed but a glance to discern that the neat handwriting of this manuscript had nothing in common with the blind script of Bucer; and a little study showed it to be but a contemporary transcript of a "Confession as to the Holy Eucharist" which was long ago printed in his *Scripta Anglicana* (1577). Yet with a difference: though the text seems the same and ends with the same solemn asseveration and date ("I, Martin Bucer, thus opine in the Lord, and in this opinion I wish to come to the tribunal of the Lord. By my own hand, 5 June, 1544.") the title runs, not "Confession of Dr. Martin Bucer as to the Holy Eucharist, publicly delivered in the school at Strassburg", but "Resolution of the faith. M. Bucer to Dr. Joseph Macarius, Hungarian" (*Resolutio fidei. M. Bucerus ad D. Josephum Macarium Ungarum*).

But before looking into the identity of Joseph Macarius a something hauntingly familiar in the neat turn of the script led me to glance instead into the *Chronicon* of that most lovable old scholar,

¹³ Nothing more is to be learned as to this from the now published *Album Academiae Vitebergensis*.

Conrad Pellican, the friend of Reuchlin and of Erasmus, of Oecolampadius and of Zwingli—for it was of his hand (familiar to me through study of his manuscripts at Zürich) that I seemed reminded. Opening, then, his chronicle in search of some clue, I was almost startled to find him relate, under the year 1544, how “on June the 13th I had as a guest that high-born and learned man Joseph the Hungarian, of Buda, . . . who for five years had studied at Wittenberg, and wished before his return to his parents to visit the churches of Germany and listen to the scholars; and, coming by way of Spire, where the Emperor was holding the Diet, to Strassburg, he conversed for several days with the brethren at Strassburg, but especially with Bucer as to the matter of the Sacrament, and from him he asked and obtained in writing an opinion regarding the Lord’s supper, which I have copied into a volume of Bucer’s commentaries on the four Gospels.” This, then, was indeed Pellican’s handwriting, and this his copy of Bucer and of the letters of his old friends the Swiss reformers. It was doubtless from this copy that, as Pellican tells us, Macarius read with interest these letters.¹⁴ Nay, but a few months earlier Pellican had recorded in his chronicle his own reading of them: “On the 5th of February I began to read the *Epistolare* of Oecolampadius and Zwingli . . . together with the most accurate and learned introduction of our Theodore” (*i. e.*, of Bibliander). Had he perhaps annotated the volume? Yes, here on the margins everywhere, but especially on the prefatory pages, were the notes of that same neat hand. Mostly, indeed, they were only a running index, such as his chronicle tells us he was wont to make in all his books; but some are comment or addition. Thus, where Myconius in his prefaced life of Zwingli narrates the events of the fatal encounter at Cappel, Pellican corrects his estimate of “less than 4500” for the number of the Zürichers to “not even 2000” (“Numero erratur. Imo ne 2000 quidem”), qualifies his mention of the soldiers’ prayers, “non sine precibus”, by an “admodum modicis”, inserts the precise hour of the morning when the fight began (“ad horam decimam”), and adds to his account of Zwingli’s dying words: “Aliter alii dicunt.”

These notes, too, may be already familiar to scholars, for the volume has not been lost all these years. The names of its owners,

¹⁴ Of Macarius, who after a week or so at Zürich set out for Constance, escorted by a notable body of his hosts—Pellican himself, Rudolf Walther, Bibliander, Froschauer the printer, and the younger Zwingli—more may be learned from a letter of Bullinger to Calvin and especially from the lately published second volume of the correspondence of the Blaurers, where, with much else relating to the winning young Hungarian, is a letter of commendation written by Bucer himself on the very same day (June 5, 1544) with his Confession as to the Eucharist.

on title-page and fore-cover, tell of a notable career. They show it to have belonged to Archdeacon Rudolf Wonlich (d. 1596), son-in-law of Leo Jud, to the great Swiss philologist Suicerus (1620–1684), who has enriched it by a note or two, to Johann Conrad Heidegger, the Zürich statesman, to Jacob Hess (1741–1828), theologian, historian, and head of the Zürich church, and to his nephew, Johann Heinrich Hess, before it became Pastor Jackson's.

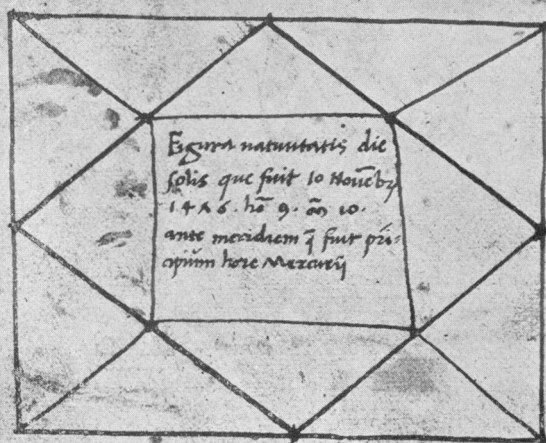
This is not the only book at Cornell which once was Conrad Pellican's. A quarter-century ago I bought from a second-hand dealer at Zürich a set of the now rare original edition of the works of Zwingli. The last of its four volumes differed slightly from the rest in binding and, as I saw, did not strictly belong to the set; for it was the first impression (1539) of his commentary on the Gospels instead of the reprint of this made to complete his works, and after it, in the same covers, was bound Bullinger's commentary (1535) on the Acts of the Apostles. But that there were annotations in the volume I do not remember to have noticed until, a few years ago, when reading with a class the chronicle of Pellican, his mention of his indexing for the printer these volumes led me to fetch the books. Opening at the index this the earliest printed, my eye fell for the first time on his own name—"Con. Pell. R." (Conradus Pellicanus Rubiacensis). Turning then to the volume's second index—that to Bullinger's work—I found again, at the end of the title, written in the same hand, the initials "C. P. R." That the hand was his own I already suspected, for I knew his habit of thus writing his name; and I had soon opportunity to verify the suspicion. The book itself, indeed, offered a slight confirmation: at the foot of the title-page a hand very different from Pellican's has written "suo Ch" and there has stopped. As I look at it there rises before me the figure of Froschauer the printer (for whom the indexing was done) about to inscribe this copy to "suo Chuonrado" when the thrifty old scholar stays his hand. Is it a wild guess? Pellican wished perhaps to donate or to sell it; and that may explain why his annotations are so few. Most interesting of them, perhaps, are those pointing out (pp. 282, 283—Luke xvi) the texts of Zwingli's last sermons: "Antepenultimus sermo Zwinglii 6. octobris, feria sexta", "Penultimus sermo Z. 7. octobris Sabbato", "Ultimus sermo Zwinglii dominica die, 8. octobris 1531, qui fuit occisus 11. octobris."

Yet I must again confess that on the title-page of the first volume of the set I find the name of an owner who (if this fourth volume too was his) was little likely to overlook such treasure-trove—the Swiss church historian Kirchhofer ("M. Kirchhofer, theol. cand., 1797").

While we were that year reading the chronicle of Pellican there fell to us another discovery as startling. The old scholar, in narrating his youth, tells how he was spurred to the study of Hebrew by reading the *Scrutinium Scripturarum* of the Spanish convertite, Paul of Burgos. Reminded thus of our own copy of that work, I laid it before the class, remarking as I did so that it was old enough to be Pellican's own, having been printed by Scheffer at Mainz in the very year of his birth (1478). Led by this suggestion we looked to see what the book could tell us of its own story. From the opening fly-leaves we learned only that it had once belonged to William Henry Black—the eminent English antiquary who long was pastor of that little London congregation of Seventh-Day Baptists of which Sir Walter Besant makes such interesting use in the novel which fruited in the People's Palace—and that he had bought it, in 1849, at the sale of the library of Henry Francis Lyte, the hymn-writer; but, on turning to the end of the book, there stared at us from beneath the colophon, in a hand of not far from the year 1500, not indeed the name of Pellican himself, but that of his fellow-humanist and Rhineland neighbor, "Theodoricus Gresemundus Junior LL.D." A notable man in his day was young Dietrich Gresemund of Mainz, poet, jurist, antiquary, the pride of his old teacher Wimpfeling, who tried to make his epic on the desecrated cross a classic for the schools. But not even Wimpfeling, who, when in 1512 death snatched off his darling in early prime, poured out his soul in glowing eulogy, has told us just when this prodigy was born; and modern guessers have gone by several years asunder. Our old book does better; for, turning the leaf, we found, in the same handwriting, the inscription: "Et ego Theodoricus Gresemundt filius natus fui anno salutis 1476 in vigilia Sancti Martini hora nona ante prandium". And beneath this, in what looked like a half-completed horoscope, were the words: "Figura nativitatis, die solis qu[a]e fuit 10 Novembris 1476, hora 9. m. 10. ante meridiem quae fuit principium hor[a]e Mercurii". On Sunday, November 10, 1476, at ten minutes after nine in the morning—surely that is quite definite enough. But "Dietrich Gresemund the Younger" implies a Dietrich Gresemund the Elder. Our Dietrich's father, a great physician of those days, was indeed, like his son, a man worth knowing; but of his early years all that is told is that he came from a little Westphalian village near the town of Soest, and at his birth-year nobody seems to have guessed. Again our old book helps. In an older hand, above the lines recording his son's birth, we read: "Item anno domini M^o etc. xlvii in die Arnolphi uff eynem mytwochen strometur Soist per exercitum Theodorici archiepiscopi Coloniensis". It was perhaps the earliest event he

Zwinglij eedes

Wij stam
3 vinylij Onien die.
8 octob. 1531. 7 pie.
octob. 11. octob.
hariscus.
Aonachus.

[illegible]

Matthias Huxos philosophia profissor. 1523

Marginal notes and memoranda by Pellican, the Gresemunds, Matthias Held. From old books in the library of Cornell University.

could remember, this storming of Soest; for the next line reads: "Item fui natus anno domini etc. x^{lmo} in profesto trium regum"—"I was born in the year 1440 on the day before Three Kings' day" (*i. e.*, on January 5).¹⁵

Sorry gleaning this may all seem to those who know the yet unpublished wealth of Old-World libraries; but it at least suggests the guarding of our bescribbled margins and fly-leaves against the binder's renovating zeal. A single line may prove a priceless clue. At the top of the title-page of our copy of the little *Spongia* by which Erasmus sought to wash away the aspersions of Hutten (1523) is the autograph of its earliest owner: "Matthias Heros philosophiae professor, 1523". Can this be other than Matthias Held, later the great Vice-Chancellor of Charles the Fifth, of whom the biographical dictionaries can tell us nothing prior to his advent as a jurist, in 1527, at the supreme imperial court in Spires?¹⁶

GEORGE L. BURR.

¹⁵ How large the share of father as well as son in the German revival of learning, has lately been shown by Bauch, the foremost living student of that movement, in his study on humanism at Mainz (1907), and Löffler in editing (1908) the long unpublished work of Hamelmann on the illustrious men of Westphalia has thrown fresh light on their origin and their activities; but neither could give with exactness the dates of their birth.

¹⁶ Facsimiles of annotations from each of the volumes described above are given in a second plate, with some hope that they may help in the identification of other annotations by these scholars.